/213 cont./

231 in this by the availability of water. For these reasons dwellings
423 continued to be mobile and transitory, though not so improvised as before, since some were built in regions that served as general headquarters while they were absent with their herds.

231 In order to take full advantage of pasture in some regions
●312 where water was scarce during the summer, the community would
423 dig wells and even build small dams to collect rain water which could be made use of by all those who had co-operated in the construction or by those who legally had access to them. Land which the new well or dam brought into use could be used by all those who had rights to it to water their livestock, a legal form practiced to this day.

At the present time we find on the land of each clan a variable number of wells which generally have been made by communal labor; all members of the family group are permitted access to them. Based on this indispensable need for water the Indians have built more stable, secure, and comfortable housing around these watering places, which are to be found on the best grazing land without encroaching on agricultural land and avoiding causing harm to their neighbors' pasturage. In this way every clan member in any region has ample pasture land at his disposal situated /214/ near his dwelling, on which he can graze his livestock during normal times in the peninsula without having to drive them to other pasture with the change of seasons or interfering in the economic life of his close neighbors.

However, as La Guajira suffers from periods of drought
231 during prolonged summers which totally destroy all grass and
423 dries up the sources of water, the Guajiro is forced to migrate
361 from one place to another in search of food and drink for his herds. In these movements he calls at the traditional clan lands situated in different parts of the peninsula, to which he has legal access by marriage rights; or, as a last resort, he va de remonta, that is, he drives his herds to the pasture lands of the clan groups living in the mountains where the winter arrives earlier than in the other regions and consequently is ready for earlier grazing; hence they can lend their aid to the men of the plains /llanura/ who

[2 cont.]

133 The greater part of the coast of La Guajira, which measures in all some 350 kilometers, belongs to Colombia. It starts from the Río Hacha in the west and extends to Lake Maracaibo in the east. It may be divided into two general parts, one low and liable to flooding, the other highland rising sheer from the coast. The low part starts from Pajainà Channel, which flows into Lake Maracaibo in front of San Carlos Island and continues approximately to the port of Cojoro. From there onward the land rises from the sea in the form of cliffs roughly to the level of Castilletes, a point where the coast level descends slightly to rise again near Punta Espada due to the eastern spurs from the Sierra de Macuira, which, as we have noted in previous paragraphs, then lose themselves in the sea. From this point, going always toward the west, the coast is rocky and inaccessible because of its continental structure.

[135 347] In the far western part of the La Guajira coast we find the most important saltworks that are being exploited in the country, such as those of Pájaro, Manaure, and Bahía Honda which supply salt to the major part of the coastal departments and even to those in the interior of the republic. The coast of this part has numerous beautiful and deep bays among which Bahía Honda is outstanding. [136] Along the coast rich fishing grounds are found, such as Bahía Honda, Cabo de la Vela, Cardón, and Carrizal, centers of fishing and pearl exploitation. Unfortunately, it has not been found practicable to make use of all the commercial navigation [B1a] and fishing possibilities of this coast due to the absence of potable water in the vicinity. This we were well able to appreciate when we found that the water required for drinking in Carrizal and San José de Bahía Honda, during our stay in these regions, was transported distances greater than ten kilometers.

361 504 The most important ports of the coast of La Guajira, from west to east, are Ahuyama; Manaure, center of the salt industry; Cardón and Carrizal, pearl fishing centers; San José de Bahía Honda, on the bay of the same name, also engaged in the salt industry, and Puerto Estrella, center of the maritime traffic of motorized sailing boats plying between the islands of Aruba and Curaçao, and Puerto López.

132 [3] La Guajira is a semidesert region, a condition to which
133 four essential factors contribute, in our opinion: 1) the presence of sandy soil which absorbs the water of the small arroyos which flow from the mountain ridges; 2) the constant trade winds which blow strongly from the northeast over the peninsula and tend to temper the climate somewhat; 3) the lack of any real relief with elevations of importance which could act as a barrier to the clouds laden with moisture which are blown by the force of the winds toward the interior regions of the continent; 4) the high atmospheric temperatures which reach 42°C. in the shade at noon and are only slightly tempered by the trade winds and sea breezes.

These factors largely determine the hydrography of the peninsula in which, it may be said, there are only two permanent rivers, the Río Hacha, which forms the boundary with the neighboring department of Magdalena, and the arroyo Paraguichón, which marks the boundary with the republic of Venezuela. Beyond this the region is subject to the seasonal cycle of rainfall, which divides itself into a completely dry summer season with only rare light showers in what might be called spring (approximately in April) and a winter season with violent rains. This last season covers approximately the months of September to December/January, while the first, with the exception of the occasional rains in spring already mentioned, covers the remaining months of the year.

All these facts convert the peninsula during the summer
133 season into a true desert without vegetation, with the earth
134 covered with loose sand, particles of which are blown into the
[164] air by the prevailing winds, causing considerable trouble to travelers and even giving rise to eye infections among the natives. But in winter, when the abundant and copious rains have fallen, the soil, which in parts is below sea level, becomes so flooded that at times all land communications are totally obstructed even on improved [herradura] roads; the dry beds of currents of water are converted into true arroyos, water holes into ponds, and everything is an immense sea of fresh water.

133 One must also take into account the presence of some few
312 lakes, such as Guaraguarao, near Maranamana; Soledad, 20 kilometers south of Pájaro; Carazúa, approximately 30 kilometers west of Ríohacha; Sararapa, near Puerto López; and Cuisa,

[3 cont.]

133 adjacent to the hamlet of Roble; also one must consider the
312 water holes, shallow depressions in the ground which store rain water for some time and are utilized as watering places for livestock. Besides these sources of water, [4] the Guajiro digs wells [casimbas] in the dry beds of arroyos, generally, having to excavate to depths of 30 vara at times to reach the underground water. Windmills, which the Water Department of the Ministry of National Economy has been constructing for some years past, have helped to solve the water problem as have at a few dams, such as those in Ipanarú and Garrapatamana.

[653]

137 The factors which we have been describing determine vegetation in La Guajira, which is mainly comprised of thorny creepers, small thickets, cactus, thorn trees, and some wooded areas, especially in the mountain ridges and their spurs, where one finds an abundance of divi-divi, the totumo, indigo, the caraño, [a resinous gum tree], guayacan, the cedar, oak, cherry, and olive, the last two being fruit trees. On the banks of the coves and bays the mangrove grows abundantly.

During the rainy season in the peninsula, the sandy soil is covered with grass and brambles and briars and the woods [montes] become green again, giving a splendid background of color to the whole countryside, but in the summer season all the trees lose their foliage and look like burned logs; the smaller plants disappear, leaving the surface bare to the mercies of the burning sand and showing as characteristic patches the tall cacti with arms raised like great candelabra. The only different shades of color are provided by the olive trees, which never dry out and always show their fresh green foliage and darker fruit, and by some small oases of vegetation on the shores of ponds and water holes.

221 For this same reason the economy of La Guajira and the people's life in general swings like a great pendulum between two extremes — summer and winter. Their principal activity, stock grazing, requires rainfall to maintain pasture and to provide water in the water holes and wells. Agriculture, their other occupation, requires sufficient humidity for the germination of the seed and for maintaining the life of the plants. Winter in La Guajira means good living, abundance, satisfaction. Summer,

[112 cont.]

787 825 Another bird of bad augury is the red owl. If a person who is traveling by night along the road sees one and hears its hoot, this is a signal that a misfortune is about to happen at the spot the walker met the bird or that something will happen to upset him on the road.

If at nightfall the long-drawn out song of the waimpirai is heard, it is an indication that there will be a war between two important clans, or extended families. They say in La Guajira that on a certain occasion, after this omen had occurred, a struggle between two families broke out and 20 [797 628] members of the Uriyú clan had to take refuge in the convent of Nazaret, defeated by their adversaries who were hunting them down wishing to kill them.

When a hen cackles at daybreak there will surely be a death in the house, particularly when the cackling is repeated on three consecutive days.

312 132 133 Natural phenomena in magic. The most important natural phenomenon for the Guajiro is rain, the essential fount for his agriculture and stock grazing and the basis of his present-day economic organization. It is not strange that this is so because if for every community and for living beings in general water is an indispensable element and if many of the divinities and spirits of the primitive Americans center around it, for the Guajiro it is infinitely more essential if we take into consideration the geographical milieu in which he lives and to which we have referred, perhaps insistently, in this work as we consider it of vital importance (cf. "Introduction"). In the whole area there is no river or stream of importance. The soil has a maximum permeability and has to withstand high temperatures; [113] and as the Guajiro have no practical knowledge of the conservation and distribution of rain water, they always live dependent on the winter season for sowing their crops. For 789 this reason many acts of magic have this end in view, but as this aspect will be better understood in the chapter on "Mareiwa and Wanurú," or notions of good and evil, we will confine ourselves in this section to noting some magic acts related to rainfall and to other natural phenomena.

789 *756 The intervention of the shaman, which we have lost sight of since the second chapter when we described at length his personality and attributes, returns again to participate in

[118 cont.]

787 The meaning of this is that shortly there will be a terrible family war into which his own family will be drawn, but as he saved himself in the dream by catching hold of something, he has the conviction that he will likewise come through the war safe and sound.

[30] The Guajiro is usually guided by his own experience when making an excavation to find drinkable underground water for his own use or for his animals. But all too often when the spring of water appears after days of hard work, it has to be abandoned because the salinity is too high to permit the water to be used. It is traditional, however, that the Guajiro finds the best places for water through his dreams. The sleeper recognizes the place where he should excavate to find water, and with unshakable faith he puts into practice what he has dreamed. Naturally, by coincidence the dream at times comes true, but in the majority of cases this does not happen, yet this does not prevent the Guajiro from continuing to believe in his dreams.

If an Indian dreams that on walking abroad he meets a serpent which coils itself about some part of his body, it is a sign that he is, or is going to be, a very intelligent person with a facility for learning a language other than his own. If, on the other hand, in the dream he shows fear of the snake and runs away, that means he has no qualifications for learning and is mentally slow.

If he dreams of food in abundance, numerous troubles are approaching him.

If an individual dreams that after climbing a high hill, he finds himself on the summit, it is a symbol that he will live for many years and will die at an old age. [119]

If he dreams that he is tossed by a bull, it is a sign that in a short time he will have whooping cough.

Lastly, if a man is sound asleep, and he dreams that someone comes to the spot where he is lying and grips him firmly and thus wakes him up, the cause is none other than the presence of the wanurú, or the spirit of a dead person, that comes to visit him.

These examples of dreams, which do not cover the infinite variety that occur among the Guajiro nor their diverse

S: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajira SC13

[83] on a clear day can be seen from any point in it. On the west side a small hill attached spoils its beauty, seen from seawards, otherwise it is perfectly symmetrical in form. The Indians call it Jepira. It lies [103] in the Cosina district, and is the most dangerous portion of the Goajira. To visit it, I had to persuade Martin, one of the great chiefs, to ac- [115] company me with his three sons, uncles, nephews, &c. We started at daybreak, rode all day, and arrived in time to see the sunset from the [125] top. We only saw three Indians the whole day, yet Martin assured me that all our movements were watched, and pointed out to me two probable places where an ambuscade would be planned for our return. We returned by a different road, getting back at 4 A.M. tired, hungry, and thirsty. I found the height to be 1200 feet above sea-level, or 900 feet above the plain. The rock is composed chiefly of trachyte with large crystals of feldspar, similar to those of the Drachenfels on the Rhine. As also belonging to this group may be considered the two isolated hills rising in front of Carbon de los Remedios and Carrizal, close to the north spur of the Cujoro range, called Juliare. They are both insignificant and do not exceed 400 feet in height. The Cerros de Carpintero, a small group of hills behind the Cabo de la Vela, are of more importance, they are about 700 feet above sea-level. From Cabo de la Vela to Puerto Estrella, between the hills and the sea, are innumerable cliffs and banks rising to 200 feet, usually with very abrupt edges, and covered with rolled stones.

Rivers properly speaking there are none in the Goajira. The country is cut up in all directions by shallow, dry, sandy beds of water-courses, that during the rainy season carry off the water as fast as it falls. Not even the Macuira Hills are able to send a flowing stream to the sea during the summer, which have lasts at least eight months. It [562] will have been remarked that the Indians have no collective name for their mountains, each little projecting point rejoicing in its own name. With their rivers it is still worse, for not only every water-hole adds a new title to a river—and these are innumerable, the custom being to dig for water in the sand of the watercourses, and as these wells dry up others are dug farther up stream—but every path that crosses the watercourse has its name. Even any prominent rock or large tree is enough to add to the interminable list of river nomenclature. On the plains below the Tota the drainage is effected by numerous small streams winding about in a most bewildering manner, and although perfectly dry, they usually have pools of muddy water at the bends. As the plain is little above sea-level, the water has cut deep zigzag channels, very different from the shallow sandy beds of the hills. The water remaining dammed up, instead of gravitating to the sea, causes the great fertility of the plains.

● 572 The principal source of water for the Indians are wells. These are of two kinds; first, the most common, by digging, usually in the dry

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

bed of a watercourse. As the season advances, and the water recedes, they either dig after it or search for a lower level. Wells of 30 to 40 feet are very common. The water is reached by a staircase cut in the sand with an easy incline. Wells are easily distinguishable from a distance by the water-troughs, hollowed out of divi-divi trees, and called canoes. These are of the most distorted and grotesque shapes, and serve to water the herd. This is very hard work for the poor Indians during the summer months, and usually employs the whole day. Water from wells if taken early in the morning is always clear and cool. When bathing at a well the Indian uses a canoe; if he stops to drink, a bath invariably follows. Every well has a name, and the country is perforated by them like a mining camp. The wells of Chimaro are phenomenal; dug out on the sea-shore, on a narrow strip of sand 100 yards in breadth, with the sea on one side and the salt-pans of Chimaro, with layers of salt many feet thick, on the other, the water is, notwithstanding, perfectly fresh. There are seven holes about 10 feet deep. I may mention that Parashi is the name of a celebrated well dug in the river that drains the eastern flank of Ituma. It means "salt," probably because the water is brackish.

Second in importance are the water-tanks or *casimbas*. These are sometimes natural, as a small lake at the foot of Ituma and the casimbas of Cojua, filtrations from the river Naima, forming a large lake in the rainy season and many small dirty pools in summer, but nature aided by art is the rule. Some are immense undertakings, and large sheets of water, calculated to last a summer through if not too severe; such as Ariapá, the casimba of Puerto Estrella, a large crescent-shaped piece of water of about a quarter of a square mile. The water of these casimbas is always muddy and filthy for drinking purposes. The herds are driven in, and every Indian that passes is sure to bathe, so that in time almost a skin of grease forms on the top; and yet in places where they are it is the only water to be had, truly meat and drink combined.

The Goajira coast abounds in harbours and bays, but none of much importance. Between Rio Hacha and Cabo de la Vela, in the extensive bay formed by the latter, anchorage is found almost all along the coast. Numerous roadsteads have become known through the commerce with the Indians, and quite a large trade is carried on in the small coasting schooners. Further along the coast are three large bays. The first, or Portete, is a large bay, well protected from the easterly trades, and is certainly the best port along the coast. Unfortunately the entrance is narrow, intricate, and with shoals. The next, Bahia Honda, is almost a complete oval, some eight miles long by three miles broad, and with an entrance of nearly three miles broad. It is separated from the sea by a stone wall from 60 to 80 feet at the highest, but not enough to protect the bay from the strong easterly winds that blow with such force here. It makes but a poor harbour, the surf inside during the afternoons pre-

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
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in an Appendix. With the exception of the Jirunes or Piesies, a small tribe of 200 souls all told living in the valley of Macuira between Ara-ura and Itajoro, the Guaririnas, a mere handful of Indians under the protectorate of the Jirau, the Sijuanas, Soouanas, Arapaizayées, Simurinas, Arsurujunas, and the Arpuaiatas, all small local tribes, strictly confined to the upper country or east of Cabo de la Vela, the other castes are distributed throughout the breadth and width of the land in the greatest confusion. Living as the Goajiro does, in continual strife and warfare, whole families would speedily become poor or extinct, if they did not take the precaution to separate their wealth and herds, and only keep a few in one place at a time. Scarcity of water and pasture compels them to lead a nomadic life, and makes house-building out of the question, for they are eternally changing abode, now in the upper Goajira and then in the lower or plains. Some branches among the castes have, in spite of their roving propensities, predispositions for certain spots. For example, the proud and wealthy Pushainas are chiefly found round and about Parashi and Atalpa. Urianas tiger frequent Tarra and Bahia Honda a great deal, while near Portete, Ipuanas and Epinayues abound. In the neighbourhood of Aulpana the Ipuanas and Jusayues are in great force; at the Tota nearly all are Jusayues, and near Las Guardias at Guarero, Sapuanas; these three latter are mostly all Cocina Indians. With respect to these terrible Cocinas, the word in Goajira signifies robber, highwayman, or outlaw. They are neither a tribe nor even a separate caste as many have supposed, but simply a band of freebooters—Indians that, for quarrels, murder, thefts, &c., have been expelled the family, and must needs take to pillaging to earn a livelihood. For self-defence, and to better ply their nefarious calling, they are banded together with recognised chiefs, and so are able to go on their marauding expeditions in great force, pouncing on any less numerous or unprepared party, to strip them of everything. One party of Cocinas will rob another if they can. Nearly all the Goajiros have relations among them, but an Indian is only safe with that band to which his relation belongs. They have commercial intercourse with them, and often succeed in getting stolen cattle back. The Cocinas' territory *par excellence* is the Cojoro range of hills, taking in the Tota, traversing the plains in a narrow band, and occupying the Montes of Oca as a refuge while scouring the plains. The country as far east as the Macuira range is not exempt from their depredations, especially between Ciapana and the Laguna of Tucacas. The principal Cocina chiefs are Alyechipara or Yorujama, as he frequently is called, an Uriana, and rules the country about Aulpana and Yuripicho—he is the worst and most feared of the lot; Porón, an Arpushaina, another devil—he has appropriated the district of Cojoro; Mampain, a Josuyú, lords it all about the Tota; and Morejildo, a Sapuana, is chief of the country about Las Guardias. Once the terror of the plains, this wild beast has

7:Bollinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

291 492 *Our caravan makes a temporary halt*

291 516 137 *Resting in the sparse shade of a divi-divi tree. My wife is stirring the pot. I am on the extreme right*

● 312 *A °casimba, or water-hole, dug by the Indians*

[FACING P. 48]

7:Bolivar T-S (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

You always rein in before a rancho and wait for those inside to call to you. If no one comes, it is best to continue on your way, for either you are not welcome or your prospective host is not at home. We halted outside this rancho and after a short wait a friendly voice called *'anuki pia'* 'You have come?' and we answered *'ee'*, yes. We were then invited to halt and entertained with sour goat's milk and boiled goat's meat. In exchange we gave them a little maize, which is an expensive article there and not easily come by. Vegetables and fruit are even greater rarities. Naturally they eat the fruit of the fig-cactus during its season. It has a faint smell, but is refreshing. There is also a tree with fruit like olives, and which the whites call olives, and the Indians eat them, but they are said to be poisonous, at least in large quantities. This tree has the great advantage that, to all intents and purposes, it never withers. At that time we were not yet tired of goat's meat and could eat the fare they offered us. It is the staple food of Guajira, however, and in the end we got more than enough of it. Even at this place we thought that everything tasted or smelled of goat, not only the meat and milk, but the water, the huts and the surroundings as well.

We went with our animals when they were to be watered, to see that they got enough. Many Indians and quite a number of cattle had gathered round the casimba, for it was to one of those we went. They had dug deep into the river bed, making a funnel-shaped hole several score feet in circumference and, as far as we could see, some thirty feet deep. During the rains this casimba overflowed and normally it was half full, they told us, but now there was only a little running in at the bottom.

The sand was firm enough there for them to have cut steps, and the Indians were climbing up and down the whole time with large jars which they emptied into troughs made of long, hollowed divi-divi trunks, from which the animals drank greedily.

The women fetched their water there in calabashes or earthenware vessels. An Indian who spoke a little Spanish told us how desperate their plight had been a few years

?:Bolleter T-S (1955, 1958) 1957
SC13 Coajiro SC13

before, when the calabbs had dried up and the cattle had reached round the troughs bellowing till they collapsed and died. The horses, on the other hand, had given up the ghost without complaint.

The water was already turgid; before long it would be as thick as gruel. The water we had been given by the bishop was now finished, and we had to boil the water from the calabbs, which had a beastly taste and did not quench our thirst because of the salt in it. The best water is that near the coast.

The cattle and horses were thin, but the men at the well looked strong and well-nourished, as did the women. But how would they look by the time October came with its rain? It was then only July. And suppose no rain came? Or only a few showers? That had happened before. The threat of it always hung over the Indians. If the rain god Juvup turned his face from them, they were lost. There were still patches of grass here and there, but it was dry and scorched. If need be the cattle could make do with cactus, despite the long spikes that could pierce a stout leather shoe with ease. Very, very carefully the cow lets one of the oval leaves slide into her mouth, almost sucking it in, so that the spikes are bent backwards; she then starts chewing as hard as she can. Often cows have more cactus stuck in their hides than they get inside them. Horses and mules, on the other hand, apparently do not like cactus and will not do more than nibble at it. It is too slow a business to eat it. The goats seemed able to find something to eat everywhere, and are themselves eaten sooner or later. Cattle are not often slaughtered, but goat is the daily fare. Live goats are also taken as provisions on journeys, being easily led on a rope.

We had halted only in order to let the animals drink and for the Indians to fill their water containers. The Gaffer needed a lot of water now—his thirst was unbounded—but the calabashes were in his wife's charge and she only allowed him an occasional gulp. Also he was having to walk, for she was tired and had mounted the donkey again. The Lad tried to enliven the company by imitating the donkeys when they

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

Our provisions were at an end. We had been too generous and not rationed them strictly, the men having complained of hunger the whole time. Now we were suffering for it.

Away in the distance, well out of range, we saw a *venado*, a deer, making off through the cactus with graceful bounds. Where did the deer drink? Surely they would not dare approach the Indians' water-holes, which were either guarded or covered.

'Deer do not drink,' said the Indians. 'They are content with the dew they can lick out of the cactus flowers.'

We were thus without both food and water. We whites had tinned food, but the Indians only appreciated the empty tins. The Lad then offered to get us some food and water. He had not been away more than an hour, when he returned with a young girl carrying a live kid in her arms. She wore nothing but the remnants of a woman's loin cloth, and apparently knew that white people did not approve of nakedness, for she tried to hide her charms behind the kid. We therefore gave her a piece of white cloth in payment, although it was really a pity to let her cover herself, for she was the shapeliest Indian girl we had yet seen in the peninsula. The cloth would protect her from the sun and make her fair-skinned and beautiful, so she was overjoyed and offered to show us the way to what she said was a much better water hole.

This new water hole was shaded by some divi-divi trees—the trees were withered and their shade sparse—and surrounded by reddish hillocks. It was not very deep and a couple of women were bathing in it. They paid no attention to us, nakedness in the bath being considered decent. Our Indians and animals were able to drink as much as they liked there, and we also filled our water-containers. Then we moved on looking for a suitable place in which to eat our goat in peace.

Gladtvet, our photographer, put up the tent to give us a little shade, and meanwhile the Indians slaughtered the kid and cut it up. My wife cooked the pieces we had taken for ourselves, helped by the little girl who had come with us. She was now wearing the piece of cloth like a pinafore and

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

our cameras up, when a plump, middle-aged Indian came rushing up and began giving the fencers orders in a stern voice. He had not noticed us.

'That's Mauana,' Francisco whispered respectfully.

Mauana was wearing only a guayuco and brow-band, which is the genuine Guajiro garb. When he saw us, he at once spoke to us in good Spanish, which not all the chiefs know, for the Guajiro cling stubbornly to their own tongue. Mauana, of course, had heard of us. He now invited us to go with him and see how he lived.

First, we came to his plantations, which many in the peninsula must have envied him. There was a green valley, one of the oases in the semi-desert, where manioc, sugar-cane and maize grew, shaded by coconut palms, mango trees and bananas. The plots were watered by narrow canals which all came from the one stream in Guajira that never ran dry.

Mauana was obviously a strict master and he ordered his slaves about like a sergeant-major, but his plantation was a model one and he was an efficient chief who maintained order in a most commendable way. Once or twice he had caught white criminals who had hidden in the hills there and sent them back to the authorities—to their great disappointment. He lived simply, as all Guajiro do, but he had an unusually well-built house that was completely roofed.

We told Mauana of the purchi we had seen, and he used this as an excuse to give us a lesson in Indian law. Such an account of the Indians' social order and laws was both amusing and interesting, and it showed how different from ours the primitive's conception of justice can be. One knows all too well what mistakes colonial authorities have made through misunderstanding the native conception of these matters, especially of the rights of ownership.

The Indians, as has already been said, are divided into clans in which relationship follows the female line. Children thus take their mothers' names. Their fathers belong to a different clan and strictly speaking are not related to them. It is their eldest maternal uncle who is their head and guardian, and it is from him, not from their father, that they

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

the chief game. The *Goajiro* who live near the coast sometimes catch fish (with hook and line), lobsters, mollusks, and crabs.

Cattle raising.—The *Goajiro* are primarily nomadic cattle raisers and, consequently, depend upon the water supply. In the rainy season they seek natural depressions, which they sometimes enlarge artificially, where the water may gather. In case of drought they wander toward the sea, where wells 30 to 40 feet (9 to 12 m.) deep are dug.

Besides cattle the *Goajiro* keep sheep, goats, horses (pl. 72, *bottom, left*), mules, pigs, and domestic fowls, which they take with them wherever they go. An estimate gives them 100,000 cattle, 200,000 sheep and goats, 20,000 horses and mules, and 30,000 donkeys. As cattle are a measure of wealth, the Indians are reluctant to kill them for food, but they utilize the milk or export the animals to Curaçao and Aruba in exchange for textiles and corn. Each tribe has its own cattle brand, and the annual round-up and branding is an occasion for great festivities. Horse races and other sports take place, and large quantities of food and drink are consumed.

Food preparation.—*Goajiro* diet consists almost entirely of meat and milk products. Goats and sheep are killed every day or two for meat, and the milk of the cows is made into butter and cheese. This diet is supplemented by yuca, cactus fruit, sugar, rice, and plantains, the last three obtained from Colombian and Venezuelan traders in exchange for skins. Meat that is not immediately consumed is suspended from tall poles, and skins are pegged to the ground and salted in preparation for sale. Butter is made by stirring the cream with a fluted stick in a calabash or wooden bucket. To make cheese, rennet is added to skimmed milk in a trough, and the curds are put in a primitive wooden cheese press, which is weighted with a heavy rock.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

Although the *Goajiro* are of a common origin, they are divided into sibs ("castes" or "tribes"), each living within a rather limited area (Simons, 1885, p. 796). The sibs are split into local groups, which occupy extended villages or rancherías, each with 2 to 50 houses (ranchos) and 10 to 250 or more Indians. Houses are always within gunshot distance of one another and so disposed that surprise attacks would be difficult. If a village is at all permanent, a protective cactus hedge surrounds it.

Goajiro nomadism makes elaborate houses unnecessary. Dwellings are mere lean-tos, arbors, and temporary gabled roofs supported on poles. Thatch is made from the core of the cactus, split lengthwise. Rough tables, chairs with rawhide seats, and benches are often used. The hammock is always present. House walls are often lacking, but a corner of the hut may be closed off for a girl's puberty seclusion. When mi-